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the first time, was printed from the original with facsimiles of the signatures in 1843. It is needless to multiply instances.

The most valuable feature of Mr. Cowan's book is the series of sixteen portraits of Mary. One would like, however, to find critical notes on them, for, strictly speaking, portraits, to be useful historical material, should be studied and tested as relentlessly as written documents.

"The present work," says Mr. Cowan in his preface, "is not free from faults and blemishes, for no work on this subject can be so on account of the imperfect nature of the material we have to draw upon." In this estimate of his book no critic will venture to differ from Mr. Cowan, but we are inclined to think that there are faults and blemishes for which no imperfections of material can account.

W. F. TILTON.

History of Scotland. By P. HUME BROWN. Vol. II. From the Accession of Mary Stewart to the Revolution of 1689. (Cambridge: University Press. 1902. Pp. xiv, 464.)

THE notes of the Scottish Reformation are unanimity and idealism. The awakening of a national conscience was naturally followed by grave political results. But the peculiarity of the movement in Scotland was the profound conviction with which the majority of the nation accepted Calvinism and the devoted idealism of their attempt to put that system into practice.

The Treaty of Edinburgh assured the ultimate success of the new religion. The reformers broke the ancient alliance with France and turned to England whose help had enabled them to win out in their long struggle. Mary Stuart's attempt to maintain the two religions side by side failed. But the conflagration in which this failure involved Scotland, by removing the Queen, gave time and space for the diffusion of the new thought. Knox and Melville, Moray and Morton working in various spirits and for various ends organized the Kirk. And this Kirk was a new thing with its own constitution and its own infallible sanction, rooted in the unhesitating assent of a reflecting and intelligent people over whose life it exercised a strenuous supervision. This body confronted James Stuart when, in 1578, he began to govern the nation of which he conceived himself to be the divinely appointed ruler. It was no empty boast of Melville's that in Scotland there were two kings and two kingdoms.

James's religious convictions as well as his political ambition of uniting England and Scotland moved him so to remodel the Kirk as to allow of its being incorporated into the English establishment. Once master of the endowment of the ancient church he was able to promote his ends by playing on the cupidity of the nobles and the necessities of the reformed clergy. By 1612 he had established a modified form of episcopacy. The next move, the readjustment of rite and doctrine contained in the Five Articles of Perth, was made by "a dead lift of royal

power." Charles I. undertook to go further and precipitated¹ the storm that had gathered over his father's head. From the first Bishop's War until the Restoration the Calvinism of Calvin prevailed in Scotland.

But other forces were at work. The Scots were a loyal as well as a religious people. They feared God and honored the king, and if they found predestination in their Bibles they found royalty there as well. There was, too, an irreconcilable antinomy between the Kirk as shaped by Knox and Melville on the Geneva pattern and the Stuart conception of royalty. Each was a receptacle of infallibility; to accommodate its life to either might have been thought task enough for any nation. Though the Scots, up to 1612 and again at the Restoration, were willing to sacrifice to their loyalty something of the disciplinary side of Calvinism, this one concession did not suffice to resolve the antinomy. But the idea of toleration was at work, strengthened on the one hand by individualism, on the other by indifference, and Scotland took back the uncovenanted Stuarts and abandoned the Cameronians.

The nation was preoccupied with politics rather than theology, when in 1688 the birth of a Roman Catholic heir to their Roman Catholic king presented them with a problem involving both of those interests. The idea of constitutional monarchy furnished a solution and Scotland was for the moment at rest under two sovereigns who, although of Stuart blood, had repudiated in terms the Stuart conception of royalty.

The present volume suggests to the student of the comparative history of institutions an interesting line of speculation. What, namely, might have been the fate of royalty in Scotland had not the two crowns been united. The feudalism of the Middle Ages was immediately succeeded by the Kirk of the Reformation. What could the Kirk have made of a king (God's silly vassal indeed) unsupported by another kingdom and another crown?

Professor Hume Brown has done his work well. He has dealt with a big subject in a little book which turns out to be at once readable and scholarly. His detachment is exemplary; like Knox, he can face Mary Stuart unmoved. His judgments of her (p. 116) and of Montrose (pp. 335-336) are admirable for justice and temperance. He throws more light on the intrigue of Lennox with the Roman Catholics in 1581 (p. 183) and on the details of the Cromwellian Union (pp. 365 ff.), and argues (pp. 340 ff.) that the Scots army did not sell Charles but surrendered him because, in the face of his refusal to take the covenant, no other course was possible. In his account of the Battle of Dunbar he follows Firth as against Carlyle and Gardiner. But when he speaks of "the feudal instinct for a sovereign lord" (p. 342) one must register a protest. It has been well argued that the logic of feudalism did not require a king at all, it did not surely admit of any sovereignty in the office.

GAILLARD THOMAS LAPSLEY.

¹ Professor Hume Brown relegates Jenny Geddes and her stool to the limbo of tradition (p. 301 n.) where, even by historical scholars, she will not soon be forgotten.